

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02083 01 OF 06 021806Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 /016 W
-----010726 021825Z /42
O 021755Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5464

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 06 BONN 02083

FOR D -- LAMB ONLY FROM OXMAN

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: SHUM, EGEN, EFIN, PORG
SUBJ: DRAFT OF NEW ORLEANS SPEECH

1. HERewith A NEW -- AND STILL ROUGH -- DRAFT FOR
CHRIS'S NEW ORLEANS SPEECH. I WILL BE REFINING IT
AND WOULD APPRECIATE ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS. I
THINK IT WILL BE EASIER FOR CHRIS IF THIS IS RETYPED
AS A DOUBLE-SPACED DRAFT.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

TITLE: THE DIPLOMACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS: THE FIRST
YEAR

PRESIDENT SPANN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES
AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE TODAY AMONG SO MANY
OLD FRIENDS. I HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE OF ADDRESSING THE
GAVEL AWARDS LUNCHEON AT THE ABA'S ANNUAL CONVENTION
IN CHICAGO LAST AUGUST. AT THAT TIME, I SOUGHT TO
EXPLAIN THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING ONE OF THE MOST
IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES OF THE CARTER
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02083 01 OF 06 021806Z

ADMINISTRATION, NAMELY, THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.
HAVING PREVIOUSLY EXPLORED THE PRINCIPLES, I WOULD LIKE
TODAY TO EXPLORE THE PRACTICE. I THINK MANY PEOPLE
WHO HEAR ABOUT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY QUESTION WHAT
IT MEANS IN EVERYDAY PRACTICE. WE HAVE PRACTICED THE
DIPLOMACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR A YEAR NOW, AND I WOULD
LIKE TO TRY TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION.

HIS FIRST HOUR IN OFFICE, PRESIDENT CARTER SET THE TONE IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS FOR A FOREIGN POLICY BASED FIRMLY ON OUR VALUES AS A NATION. "BECAUSE WE ARE FREE," HE SAID, "WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE." HE WAS NOT LAUNCHING A CRUSADE, A ONE-MAN -- OR EVEN A ONE-NATION -- CAMPAIGN TO PUNISH THE WICKED AND REFORM THE WORLD IN OUR IMAGE. RATHER, HE WAS EXPRESSING AN OLD, SOMETIMES IGNORED TRUTH WITH NEW VIGOR. AFTER ALL, IT IS UPON THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT OUR STRENGTH AS A NATION AND OUR MAGNETISM TO THE WORLD AT LARGE ARE PREDICATED. INDEED, IT IS THIS CAUSE THAT IS ULTIMATELY WHAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT. THUS, IT IS ONLY PROPER THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO OUR NATIONAL LIFE, SHOULD BE FAITHFULLY REFLECTED IN OUR INTERNATIONAL LIFE AS WELL. THIS MEANS THEY MUST BE FULLY INTEGRATED INTO THE PRACTICE OF OUR DIPLOMACY.

NOR SHOULD ANYONE BE UNDER THE ILLUSION THAT PURSUIT OF THIS CAUSE IN OUR INTERNATIONAL LIFE IS AN IDEOLOGICAL LUXURY CRUISE WITH NO PRACTICAL PORT OF CALL. THE FACT IS THAT OUR IDEALISM AND OUR SELF-INTEREST COINCIDE, FOR IT IS CLEARLY IN OUR INTEREST THAT THIS WORLD BE POPULATED BY MORE RATHER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02083 01 OF 06 021806Z

THAN FEWER NATIONS WHICH SHARE OUR HUMAN RIGHTS VALUES. SUCH NATIONS ARE THE BEST ALLIES. THUS, BROADENING RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND WIDENING THE CIRCLE OF DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES IS AT THE VERY CORE OF OUR SECURITY INTERESTS, AS WELL AS CONSONANT WITH OUR MORAL COMMITMENTS.

(TRANSITION TO BE INSERTED.)

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT LESSONS I, AS A NEWCOMER TO THE DIPLOMATIC PROFESSION, HAVE LEARNED OVER THE PAST YEAR IS WHAT A MULTI-FACETED, SUBTLE, CREATIVE PROCESS DIPLOMACY CAN BE. IT INCLUDES NOT ONLY WORDS -- THOUGH WORDS CAN BE HIGHLY EFFECTIVE -- BUT ALSO AN IMMENSE VARIETY OF SYMBOLS AND GESTURES, OF TANGIBLE INCENTIVES AND SANCTIONS. IT CAN BE A RICH MIX, AND THE MIX WILL ALWAYS BE DIFFERENT, DEPENDING UPON THE FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE THAT IS SOUGHT. IN THE CASE OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES,

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02083 02 OF 06 021811Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 /016 W
-----010824 021828Z /42

O 021755Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5465

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 06 BONN 02083

FOR D ONLY

WE HAVE EVOLVED A MIX THAT I THINK IS PROVING
EFFECTIVE.

PERHAPS THE PRIMARY INGREDIENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
DIPLOMACY IS THE SIMPLE DEVICE OF FRANKLY DISCUSSING
HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS IN OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH
FOREIGN DIPLOMATS AND LEADERS. AN OBVIOUS TECHNIQUE,
YES. JUST WORDS, YES. BUT I MUST TELL YOU THAT MANY
OF US HAVE BEEN AMAZED AT HOW EFFECTIVE THIS APPROACH
IS PROVING TO BE. A CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER
TOLD ME RECENTLY THAT UNTIL LAST JANUARY IT WOULD
HAVE BEEN ALMOST UNHEARD OF FOR OUR AMBASSADOR IN
ANOTHER COUNTRY TO RAISE IN FACE-TO-FACE CONVERSATION
WITH THE LEADER OF THAT COUNTRY SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE
FATE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS DETAINED THERE. IT WAS
ASSUMED SIMPLY THAT THIS WAS TOO SENSITIVE AND TOO
OFFENSIVE A SUBJECT TO RAISE AT HIGH LEVELS THROUGH
DIPLOMATIC DISCOURSE. YET, TIME AFTER TIME, IN THE
PAST YEAR WE HAVE DONE SO; AND TIME AFTER TIME
BENEFICIAL RESULTS HAVE FLOWED FROM FRANK DISCUSSIONS.
SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS HAVE RE-EXAMINED CONDITIONS IN
THEIR CAPITALS AND PROVINCES, AND IMPROVEMENTS HAVE
FOLLOWED. THIS IS DIPLOMACY AT ITS BEST.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02083 02 OF 06 021811Z

I THINK YOU WOULD BE PROUD OF THE QUALITY OF THE DISCUSSION WHEN WE RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS WITH ANOTHER GOVERNMENT. WE DO NOT BY ANY MEANS ASSUME A FORCING, OVERBEARING POSTURE. RATHER, WE EXPLAIN THAT OUR PEOPLE, OUR CONGRESS AND OUR GOVERNMENT ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES WE BELIEVE TO BE OCCURRING IN THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION. AND WE ASK FOR THE OTHER GOVERNMENT'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AND THE PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT.

SOMETIMES, IT IS TRUE, THE RESPONSE IS TRUCULENT AND DEFENSIVE, AND WE ARE CHIDED FOR "INTERVENING" IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER SOVEREIGN STATE. BUT MUCH MORE COMMONLY, THE RESPONSE IS A REAL EFFORT TO JOIN ISSUE ON THE MERITS. TYPICALLY, THERE IS CANDID ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE PROBLEM AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE VALIDITY OF OUR INTEREST -- AN INTEREST ROOTED IN SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS THAT MAKE THE WAY A GOVERNMENT TREATS ITS OWN CITIZENS A MATTER OF LEGITIMATE INTERNATIONAL CONCERN. JUST AS TYPICALLY THERE IS DISAGREEMENT OVER THE DEGREE AND CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM. BUT USUALLY THESE DIFFERENCES IN PERSPECTIVE ARE OVERTAKEN BY A DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS -- BY CONSIDERATION, FOR EXAMPLE, OF WHETHER THOSE HELD WITHOUT TRIAL CAN SOON BE RELEASED OR AT LEAST CHARGED AND TRIED; OR WHETHER THE RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE CAN PROCEED ON SCHEDULE; OR WHETHER THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR MISTREATING PRISONERS WILL BE PROSECUTED; AND SO FORTH. SOMETIMES WE ACHIEVE EXPLICIT UNDERSTANDINGS ON SUCH ISSUES; MORE COMMONLY, THERE IS AN IMPLICIT PERCEPTION OF THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENTS AND FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS AS THOSE IMPROVEMENTS EVOLVE. EITHER WAY, WE BELIEVE THE VALUE OF OUR HAVING RAISED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02083 02 OF 06 021811Z

THE ISSUE IS UNQUESTIONABLE. INSTEAD OF JUST SITTING AS A SKELETON IN THE CLOSET THAT CAN BE CONVENIENTLY IGNORED, HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES ARE BROUGHT INTO THE FULL LIGHT OF DIPLOMATIC INTERCHANGE WHERE THEY MUST BE RECKONED WITH.

I THINK IT IS EASY TO UNDERESTIMATE THE PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACING HUMAN RIGHTS SQUARELY ON THE AGENDA OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS. FOR ONCE IT IS THERE, IT HAS THE UNCANNY ABILITY OF REFUSING TO BE IGNORED.

ANOTHER ELEMENT OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN TO MEET ON APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS WITH OPPOSITION LEADERS FROM COUNTRIES WITH SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS. WHILE IT IS NO PART OF OUR POLICY TO SEEK

TO OVERTHROW ANY GOVERNMENT, WE DO BELIEVE IT IS
CONSISTENT WITH OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS TO MAINTAIN
COMMUNICATION WITH RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION LEADERS WHO
ARE THE VICTIMS OF REPRESSION BECAUSE OF THEIR
DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS MET
WITH SUCH LEADERS -- INCLUDING SOME WHO ARE LIVING IN
EXILE FROM THEIR HOMELAND. THESE MEETINGS ENABLE US TO
BENEFIT FROM FRESH INSIGHTS, TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE
GOVERNMENT IN POWER THAT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS ARE
NOT ONLY BROAD, BUT ALSO BLIND TO NARROW PARTISAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02083 03 OF 06 021850Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 /016 W
-----011906 021909Z /42
O 021755Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5466

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 06 BONN 02083

FOR D ONLY

CONSIDERATIONS, AND TO ESTABLISH A SOUND RELATIONSHIP
WITH INDIVIDUALS WHO MAY SOMEDAY BE LEADING, RATHER
THAN OPPOSING, THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY. IF
THAT DAY COMES, WE THINK THESE INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR
SUPPORTERS WILL REMEMBER WITH APPRECIATION THAT WE
DID NOT TURN A DEAF EAR WHEN THEY LOOKED TO US.

THE WORDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS DIPLOMACY CAN EFFECTIVE-
LY BE JOINED WITH SYMBOLIC ACTS THAT ENHANCE THE MESSAGE
WE ARE TRYING TO SEND. FOR EXAMPLE, HIGH-LEVEL U.S.
OFFICIALS, INCLUDING IN SOME INSTANCES THE PRESIDENT
AND SECRETARY OF STATE, HAVE TRAVELED TO OTHER COUNTRIES
TO DISCUSS OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS. THE FACT OF SUCH
TRIPS IS OF SUBSTANTIAL SIGNIFICANCE, AND IS SO
PERCEIVED. THAT THE PRESIDENT CHOSE TO VISIT INDIA,

WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ONCE AGAIN RESPECTED, IS A FACT WITH IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR US RELATIONS WITH ALL THIRD WORLD GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING FREE AND REPRESSIVE ONES ALIKE. IT WAS ILLUSTRATIVE OF OUR DESIRE TO ACT POSITIVELY TO ENCOURAGE COUNTRIES WITH EXEMPLARY HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS. THAT SECRETARY VANCE VISITED ARGENTINA TO DISCUSS THE EGREGIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN THAT COUNTRY DEMONSTRATED THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR CONCERN. WHILE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02083 03 OF 06 021850Z

THERE HE ALSO MET WITH INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS ADVOCATING GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, PATRICIA DERIAN, HAS TRAVELED EXTENSIVELY IN LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA TO DISCUSS OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS DIRECTLY WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS, AS WELL AS NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND IN SOME CASES KEY POLITICAL PRISONERS.

BEYOND PRIVATE DIPLOMATIC DISCOURSE WITH GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR OPPONENTS AND BEYOND IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC STEPS, THE DIPLOMACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS MUST SOMETIMES INCLUDE PUBLIC STATEMENTS CRITICAL OF REGIMES IMPLICATED IN SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WE DO NOT GENERALLY PREFER THIS APPROACH BUT NEITHER WILL WE SHRINK FROM IT WHEN IT APPEARS APPROPRIATE OR WHEN OTHER MEANS HAVE PROVEN INEFFECTIVE. PUBLIC COMMENT BY OUR GOVERNMENT IS CRITICIZED BY SOME AS JUST WORDS. BUT IS IS MUCH MORE THAN JUST WORDS. IT IS AN OFFICIAL ACT THAT DIRECTS THE ATTENTION OF THE ENTIRE WORLD TO THE HIGHLY OBJECTIONABLE PRACTICES OF ANOTHER GOVERNMENT. THAT IS NOT A PLEASANT EXPERIENCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED, ESPECIALLY IF IT KNOWS THAT THE TRUE MOTIVATION FOR ITS EXCESSES IS A DESIRE TO REMAIN IN POWER AT ALL COSTS. WE BELIEVE OUR PUBLIC CRITICISM CAN HAVE SOME INHIBITING EFFECT ON SUCH GOVERNMENTS.

WE HAVE USED THIS TECHNIQUE OF PUBLIC COMMENT IN A VARIETY OF INSTANCES, INCLUDING, FOR EXAMPLE, WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN CHILE, ETHIOPIA, AND ARGENTINA. WE HAVE ALSO, OF COURSE, USED THIS TECHNIQUE QUITE EXTENSIVELY AT THE BELGRADE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02083 03 OF 06 021850Z

MEETING THAT HAS BEEN REVIEWING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THAT DOCUMENT ON ITS FACE
CONTEMPLATES A FULL AND FRANK REVIEW OF WHETHER THE
SIGNATORIES HAVE LIVED UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS. SINCE
IT IS CLEAR THAT THE COMMUNIST BLOC COUNTRIES HAVE IN
VARYING DEGREES FAILED TO LIVE UP TO THEIRS, WE HAVE
NOT HESITATED TO SAY SO PUBLICLY, TO REQUEST AN
EXPLANATION, AND TO SEEK COMPLIANCE. THAT EXPLANATIONS
AND COMPLIANCE HAVE RARELY BEEN FORTHCOMING DOES
NOT MEAN OUR COMMENTS WERE FRUITLESS. QUITE THE
CONTRARY: OUR COMMENTS AND THOSE OF OUR WESTERN
ALLIES HAVE HELPED SUSTAIN THE HELSINKI ACCORD AS A
LIVING FORCE IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AN ENGINE
FOR KEEPING CONSTANT PRESSURE ON THE COMMUNIST BLOC
GOVERNMENTS TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF THEIR PEOPLE.
OUR SILENCE WOULD HAVE EFFECTIVELY PERMITTED THAT FORCE
TO FADE AWAY.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, PUBLIC COMMENT HAS BEEN OUR
FIRST LINE OF APPROACH WITH RESPECT TO COUNTRIES LIKE
CAMBODIA AND UGANDA, WHERE WE HAVE NO DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS, YET WHERE WE UNDERSTAND GRIEVOUS,
UNSPEAKABLE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE OCCURRING
AS A MATTER OF DELIBERATE STATE POLICY. WE DEPLORE
THESE POLICIES AND HOPE THAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS WHICH
HAVE THE CONTACT AND INFLUENCE THAT WE LACK CAN MAKE
KNOWN THE EXTENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02083 04 OF 06 021822Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 /016 W
-----011064 021845Z /42
O 021755Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5467

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 04 OF 06 BONN 02083

FOR D ONLY

IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES WE THINK IT NECESSARY OR APPROPRIATE FOR OUR HUMAN RIGHTS DIPLOMACY TO ENCOMPASS TANGIBLE INCENTIVES AND SANCTIONS. WHERE A COUNTRY'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IS EXEMPLARY, AS IN INDIA, OR IMPROVING, AS IN PERU, WE ARE PREPARED TO INCREASE OUR ASSISTANCE. ACCORDINGLY, THIS PAST YEAR WE INCREASED OUR AID TO INDIA BY "X" PERCENT, AND WE ESTABLISHED A FOOD AID PROGRAM FOR PERU. OVER TIME WE WILL BE SEEKING TO CHANNEL AN INCREASING PROPORTION OF OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TOWARD COUNTRIES THAT RESPECT THE BASIC RIGHTS OF THEIR PEOPLE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WHERE A COUNTRY CONSISTENTLY TRAMPLES UPON SUCH RIGHTS AND WHERE OUR MORE CUSTOMARY DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS HAVE BEEN UNAVAILING, WE MUST CONSIDER RESTRICTIONS ON THE FLOW OF ASSISTANCE. WE HAVE THEREFORE HAD OCCASION, FOR EXAMPLE;

- TO CURTAIL OUR MILITARY AID TO URUGUAY, ARGENTINA, AND ETHIOPIA;
- TO DEFER BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO CHILE AND NICARAGUA;

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02083 04 OF 06 021822Z

- TO REQUIRE COUNTRIES WITH SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS TO GUARANTEE THAT OUR FOOD AID WILL REACH THE NEEDY;

- AND TO OPPOSE LOANS BY THE WORLD BANK, AND THE OTHER INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, TO COUNTRIES THAT ENGAGE IN FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE HOPE SUCH STEPS WILL HELP PERSUADE THE GOVERNMENTS IN QUESTION TO CURB THEIR ABUSES. WE REALIZE THAT OUR ACTIONS WILL NOT ALWAYS HAVE THAT EFFECT. EVEN WHEN THEY DO NOT, HOWEVER, THEY SERVE AN IMPORTANT FUNCTION: THEY TEND TO DISSOCIATE THE UNITED STATES FROM FLAGRANT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS. THIS NOT ONLY HELPS US MAINTAIN OUR SELF-ESTEEM BUT ALSO DENIES THE OTHER GOVERNMENT THE OPPORTUNITY TO MISREPRESENT AMERICAN ASSISTANCE AS AMERICAN SUPPORT.

I WOULD NOTE THAT IN AFFECTING THE FLOW OF ASSISTANCE WE ARE ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT PENALIZING INNOCENT PEOPLE -- ESPECIALLY THOSE LIVING ON THE BRINK OF SURVIVAL -- FOR THE MISDEEDS OF

THEIR GOVERNMENT. THUS, WE WILL GENERALLY NOT REDUCE ASSISTANCE THAT WOULD DEMONSTRABLY HELP THE NEEDY SATISFY THEIR BASIC NEEDS.

IT IS AN OFTEN-IGNORED BUT CRUCIAL FACT THAT IN PURSUING THE DIPLOMACY I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED, WE ARE NOT ALONE. IN VARYING DEGREES OTHER GOVERNMENTS ARE WITH US, AND IT IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR DIPLOMACY TO ENCOURAGE THAT SUPPORT. IN THE UNITED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02083 04 OF 06 021822Z

NATIONS, IN THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, IN OUR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA, AND IN OTHER CONTEXTS, WE HAVE STRONG PARTNERS IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. RECENTLY, WE HAVE INITIATED WIDE INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIONS TO SEEK THE VIEWS OF OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES AND OTHERS ON HOW TO PROMOTE BROADER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IN PARTICULAR, WE ARE EXPLORING WITH THESE OTHER GOVERNMENTS WAYS TO CHANNEL THE LENDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS TOWARD COUNTRIES WITH GOOD HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS. I AM PLEASED TO TELL YOU THAT THUS FAR OUR CONSULTATIONS HAVE YIELDED GOOD RESULTS AND DEMONSTRATED EVEN STRONGER SUPPORT THAN WE SUSPECTED FOR GIVING HUMAN RIGHTS A HIGHER PRIORITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

THIS THEN IS A CAPSULE VIEW OF THE DIPLOMACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS A DIPLOMACY THAT REFUSES TO "BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE". AS A RESULT, IT IS A DIPLOMACY THAT HAS PERMITTED THE UNITED STATES TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE FOR HUMAN PROGRESS ONCE AGAIN. IN EUROPE, IN LATIN AMERICA, IN LARGE PARTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA, IDEOLOGICAL ENTHUSIASM WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN DRIFTING TOWARD OTHER SYSTEMS AND CONCERNS IS RETURNING TO THE VALUES OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02083 05 OF 06 021824Z

ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 /016 W

-----011134 021902Z /42

O 021755Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5468

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 05 OF 06 BONN 02083

FOR D ONLY

IN RETURNING TO OUR POSITION OF MORAL LEADERSHIP, WE HAVE HELPED TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS IS MUCH MORE LIKELY TO OCCUR. AND, INDEED, WE HAVE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE FROM EVERY CONTINENT THAT THE CONDITION OF PEOPLE -- OF INDIVIDUAL, IDENTIFIABLE HUMAN BEINGS -- IS IN COUNTLESS CASES LESS OPPRESSIVE NOW THAN IT SEEMED ONE YEAR AGO:

-- IN AFRICA, THERE HAVE BEEN RELEASES OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF POLITICAL DETAINEES, AS IN SUDAN; NIGERIA, UPPER VOLTA, MALI AND GHANA ARE MOVING TOWARD REESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC NORMS; NIGERIA AND OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS ARE SUPPORTING CREATION OF AN AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION UNDER UN AUSPICES.

-- IN THE NEAR EAST, MOROCCO LIFTED RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND RELEASED SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, AS WELL AS ENDED TEN YEARS OF RULE BY DECREE; TUNISIA AUTHORIZED ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TUNISIAN LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN WHICH HAS CHALLENGED AND BEEN CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT; INDIA THRILLED US ALL BY ITS MAGNIFICANT RESURRECTION

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02083 05 OF 06 021824Z

OF DEMOCRACY; NEPAL RELEASED POLITICAL PRISONERS AND LIFTED NEWSPAPER CURBS; SRI LANKA CHANGED ITS GOVERNMENT FOR THE SIXTH TIME SINCE INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE OF ITS PEOPLE; PAKISTAN RELEASED OVER 11,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO HAD BEEN DETAINED UNDER THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION; IRAN SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED JUDICIAL PROCEDURES TO PROVIDE MORE PROTECTION TO THE ACCUSED, RELEASED A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND AGREED TO A VISIT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS.

-- IN EAST ASIA, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT RELEASED 10,000 POLITICAL DETAINEES, PROMISED TO RELEASE 20,000 MORE, AND AGREED TO RESUMPTION OF ICRC VISITS; SOUTH KOREA RELEASED ALL BUT ONE OF THE SO-CALLED MYONG DONG PRISONERS, OPPOSITION POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHO HAD OPPOSED THE GOVERNMENT; THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT EASED SOME OF ITS MARTIAL LAW RESTRICTIONS AS WELL AS RELEASED NUMEROUS DETAINEES AND ANNOUNCED AN INTENTION TO HOLD ELECTIONS IN 1978;

-- IN LATIN AMERICA, RELEASES OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS OCCURRED IN HAITI, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, PARAGUAY, PERU; THE MILITARY GOVERNMENTS OF PERU, ECUADOR AND BOLIVIA ANNOUNCED THAT ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD IN 1978; STATES OF SEIGE WERE LIFTED IN EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA; SOME RESTRICTIVE LAWS HAVE BEEN REPEALED IN PANAMA; AND EL SALVADOR, HAITI AND PARAGUAY HAVE AGREED TO VISITS BY THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

-- IN EUROPE, WITH THE RETURN OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND GREECE, THE NATO ALLIANCE FULLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02083 05 OF 06 021824Z

SHARES A COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY; NEW CHURCHES HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED IN POLAND; CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE HAVE EASED THEIR RESTRICTIONS ON EMIGRATION AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION; SOME HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN POLAND AND ROMANIA HAVE BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON; AND LIVE TELEVISION PROGRAMS IN HUNGARY HAVE ALLOWED PROMINENT WESTERNERS TO VOICE THEIR VIEWS ON POLITICAL ISSUES.

WE TAKE NO CREDIT FOR THESE ACTIONS; THEY WERE THE SPONTANEOUS DECISIONS OF SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS RESPONDING TO THE SAME HUMAN RIGHTS ASPIRATIONS THAT WE HOLD FOR OURSELVES. NOR IS IT TIME FOR ANYONE TO TAKE ANY CREDIT, FOR DESPITE THESE MANY IMPROVEMENTS AND OTHERS LIKE THEM, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE DISTANCE WE HAVE COME IS DWARFED BY THE DISTANCE THAT REMAINS TO BE TRAVELED. WHILE I COULD RECOUNT IN DETAIL THE RETROGRADE HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST YEAR, AS WELL AS THE HORRENDOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT PERSIST ACROSS THE GLOBE -- IN MANY OF THE COUNTRIES I HAVE JUST MENTIONED AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE -- I THINK YOU WILL UNDERSTAND WHY I THINK IT WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE TO DO SO.

SUFFICE IT TO SAY THAT IN ALL QUARTERS OF THE

WORLD, TOO MANY PEOPLE ARE STILL SUBJECTED TO TORTURE,
ARE SUFFERING IN SQUALID PRISONS, ARE LIVING UNDER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02083 06 OF 06 021821Z
ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 /016 W
-----011034 021832Z /42

O 021755Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5469

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 06 OF 06 BONN 02083

FOR D ONLY

MARTIAL LAW OR OTHERWISE BARRED FROM PARTICIPATING IN
THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

THERE ARE TOO MANY PEOPLE DENIED THE RIGHT TO
EXPRESS THEMSELVES, DENIED THE OPPORTUNITY TO FEED,
CLOTHE AND EDUCATE THEMSELVES, DENIED ACCESS TO
ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, DENIED THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE OR
EVEN TRAVEL FREELY WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

THESE PROBLEMS ARE THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE.
THEY WILL NOT BE SOLVED BY COSMETIC CHANGES; INDEED,
SOME OF THEM CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES.
BUT OUR EXPERIENCE WITH ONE YEAR OF HUMAN RIGHTS
DIPLOMACY CONVINCES US THAT THIS LONG JOURNEY IS NOT
AN IMPOSSIBLE JOURNEY.

AS I LOOK BACK ON THIS FIRST YEAR AND GAZE AT
THE FUTURE, I AM REMINDED OF CHURCHILL'S PHRASE, AFTER
THE BATTLE OF EL ALAMEIN: "THIS IS NOT THE END. THIS
IS NOT THE BEGINNING OF THE END. BUT THIS IS PERHAPS
THE END OF THE BEGINNING."

OF COURSE NONE OF US CAN KNOW FOR SURE WHERE THE
PROGRESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS MAY LEAD. BUT EVERY SO OFTEN
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02083 06 OF 06 021821Z

DURING THE PAST YEAR, AS I HAVE STRUGGLED TO UNDERSTAND
THE DEEP MEANING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, I HAVE FELT A
FLEETING INTIMATION OF WHAT UNTOLD SPIRITUAL AND
MATERIAL RICHES MAY LIE AHEAD -- PERHAPS CENTURIES
AHEAD -- IN A WORLD OF TRUE, UNIVERSAL HUMAN FREEDOM.
JUSTICE HOLMES PERHAPS HAD A SIMILAR FEELING -- AND
CERTAINLY EXPRESSED IT MUCH BETTER THAN I EVER COULD --
WHEN HE SAID:

"I THINK IT NOT IMPROBABLE THAT MAN,
LIKE THE GRUB THAT PREPARES A CHAMBER FOR
THE WINGED THING IT NEVER HAS SEEN BUT IS TO
BE -- THAT MAN MAY HAVE COSMIC DESTINIES THAT
HE DOES NOT UNDERSTAND. AND SO BEYOND THE
VISION OF BATTLING RACES AND AN IMPOVERISHED
EARTH I CATCH A DREAMING GLIMPSE OF PEACE."

I THINK THAT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THE CAUSE OF
HUMAN RIGHTS HAS POWER AND WILL ULTIMATELY SUCCEED
BECAUSE, NO MATTER WHAT THE OBSTACLES, IT TENACIOUSLY
ALLOWS THE WORLD'S PEOPLE TO "CATCH A DREAMING GLIMPSE
OF PEACE."

MEEHAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, HUMAN RIGHTS, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BONN02083
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780050-0420
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197802103/aaaaditf.tel
Line Count: 684
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e8756dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3434852
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DRAFT OF NEW ORLEANS SPEECH
TAGS: SHUM, EGEN, EFIN, PORG, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e8756dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014